

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Nepal is a country of rich ethnic, linguistic, religious, cultural and geographic diversity. So Nepal is also called the "land of all region and season." On the basis of body structure, language, culture, resident of Nepal is assumed to be "Tibeto - Nepalese" and "Indo - Nepalese". Brahmin, Chhetri, Dhobi, Musahar, Sarki, *Damai*, Kami etc are "Indo - nepalese" living basically in Tarai and hill. Similary Rai, Limbu, Magar, Gurung, Baramu, Tamang etc. are "Tibeto-Nepalese" resideng in hill and mountain. They have their won socio-cultural feature and economic status. Many unique culture and social features are major interest to many geographers.

Change is a universal and continuous phenomena. Which is found in all the societies at all time. The present study deals with the changes in the livelihood strategies of the Baramus from Arupokhari village Development Committee (VDC) in Gorkha district. This study attempts to look at the Baramu Community in relation to its resources and environment in a changing content. Hence, this study design to investigate and analyze how Baramus have witnessed and experienced rapid socio-cultural economic and environment change over the last twenty years, and how they have developed adaptive measures to adjust in such a changing content.

There are 100 caste /ethnic group in Nepal. Among them NFDIN has identified 59 indigenous nationalities which comprise 36.31 percent of the total 23151423 population of Nepal CBS, 2001. Baramu is one of

the indigenous nationalities of the nation, which is categorized as highly marginalized group (NEFIN, 2005).

After the establishment of a democratic political system in 1951, Nepal began to formulate periodic development plans from 1956 onwards. Over the course of time, different and often contradicting models of development such as the 'top - down' econocentric 'bottom-down' or grass-root approaches have been adopted and implemented. Nepal is on the receiving end of the interventionist approach; the form of receiving aid is gradually changing from the grant to the loan, thereby creating greater dependency. Not only have the models of development been changing, but the focus of development is also shifting towards poverty alleviation 'basic needs' 'empowerment' 'social development' and 'sustainable development Seers (1973) criticizes the changing models and focus of development in general and these criticisms seem quite relevant in Nepalese context as well.

Baramus were currently residing in a few districts in western and central Nepal including Gorkha district. In Arupokhari VDC. of Gorkha district they live among with their fellow ethnic/caste groups including Magar, Gurung, Brahmin and Chhetri, with whom they have a wide network of both symbiotic as well as competitive social relationships. These relationships arise from a process of adaptation in the same socio-physical area.

Baramu are living in primary stage of poverty and backward communities of the nation as in Arupokhari VDC. They are socio-economically far behind in comparison of advanced caste and community of the country. Very low numbers are capable to feed themselves for the whole year from their product. The people who can feed themselves less

than six months are majority in number. Some are depending in day-to-day labor for a whole year. They are living in negligible number with very miserable status.

This community is found in Gorkha, Dhading, Kathmandu, Chitwan, Makwanpur, Kavre, Lalitpur, Nuwakot and Tanahun district. Although this is highly marginalized group, no researchwork has been done about this community by the national and foreign researchers. There is no publication about the Baramu community as no body has yet done research concerning this small ethnic group. So it is very necessary to research about them and find their real problem and the way of solving them.

The word Baramu is a new word in Nepalese cultural history. There are no publications about the Baramu community as no body has yet done research concerning this small ethnic group. But the origin of the word Baramu and development of this caste is interesting and significant for research. Baramus are originally supposed to be Sunuwar migrants from eastern Nepal. They are currently residing in a few districts in western and central Nepal including Gorkha district. The major homeland of Baramu is Gorkha. They are found in 19 VDCs in Gorkha.

An ethnic group is a group of human beings whose members identify with each other, usually in the basis of a presumed common genealogy or ancestry, (Smith, 1987). Ethnic identity is also marked by the recognition from of a group's distinctiveness (Encyclopedia of Britannia) and by common cultural, linguistic, religious, behavioural or biological traits. (Smith Anthony D. 1987)

1.2 Statement the Problem

The Baramu community of Arupokhari VDC are living in miserable condition with lack in every where and every thing. They are socio-economically far behind in comparison of so-called upper castes. Because of the poverty they are uneducated poor and their children are suffering from malnutrition. More than fifty percent of Baramus are depending in daily wage.

The Rana government provided them some land, which are called 'Kipat' which was changed into Raikar later. It is used to say that their land is exploited by the clever Khash Bahun and they are changed into Landless, although they had big quantity of land at once.

Most of the Baramu are dependents on agricultural by occupation. But declining agricultural productivity unequal distribution of land and the continued lack of diversity in production their livelihood is very critical. More than 90 percent of the Baramu people of Arupokhari VDC are living in condition of misery. Their food is inadequate to fulfill their need. In the past Baramus were used during marriage ceremony and other, ceremony to carry load or Dola. Now a days their prime occupation seems to be agriculture pottering and wage labour are considered as subsidiary Jobs. in addition some at these people spent their life in rich people's have as servantr, but now it can't be find. Some Baramu earn money from outside the country and some earn form army also.

Baramu is backward community. Simplicity and liberality is their characteristics. Because of such characteristics, they became the victim of so-called upper class (caste) everywhere. The Baramu of Arupokhari VDC very suitable example of it. therefore, it is going to find out their

socio-economic status of the Baramu community at present. So this study will be focus to identify the problem of Baramu in Arupokhari VDC. For that information will be collected in the field of socio-economic such as income, educational status, food habit, religion, life style and problems based on questionnaire method.

This study try to address the following questions.

- i. How did the Baramu Community subsist in the past ?
- ii. How are the Baramu societies running in this modern age ?
- iii. How has the economic development process, including the market economy, affected economic socio-cultural and environmental condition in the study area.
- iv. What problems have Baramu community faced now a days ?
- v. What types of works have they done to solved the problems ?
- vi. What are the factors to change their life style ?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

Over the past to decades Baramus have withnessed various socio-economic, cultural and political ups and downs in their social milieu. Along with their fellow villages from other ethnic/caste groups, Baramus have also seen and are waiting for fruits of development which are supposed to uplift their socio-economic condition. The main objectives of this study is to find out the socio-economic status of Baramu community. The specific objectives are as follows:

- i. To analyze the socio-economic Status of Baramu community.
- ii. To explain how the Baramus are affected by changes in economic, socio-cultural, natural environment and development activities.
- iii. To findout the major problem of Baramu community.

1.4 Rational of the Study

The present study focuses on socio-economic status, changing pattern and major problems in general. This study provided some key information to the governments, NGOs/INGOs which are involved in the development of Baramu's community for effective planning and bring the change in the policy to uplift the socio-economic status of Baramu as a whole.

No doubt, ethnic empowerment is much essential in Nepalese society. With out their empowerment, national development cannot be forwarded because development is not a progress of some groups. Real development is that which included all (ethnic groups, women, empowerment, disadvantaged group etc.).

Ethnic mainstreaming is the main path of development in 21th Century. For that, their socio-economic problems should be researched. So the study about Baramu community is going to be done for which particular area of Gorkha - Arupokhari is chosen for the study. Baramu are one of the weaker and marginalized section of Arupokhari VDC. Living at subsistence level. This group is comparatively isolated and deprived. To uplift the backward people like Baramu, this study will be very importance and helpful not only this, it is hoped that it will help to explore their basic problem like illiteracy, poor health condition, Low agricultural production etc. So that it will be useful to VDCs, DDCs, National planners and NGOs/INGOs too.

1.5 Limitations of the Study

The study will be very specific. So the conclusion from this study will be mere indicative rather than conclusive. The conclusions might not

be generalized for the whole. But the inference might be varied to some extent to those areas, which have similar socio-economic status. Lack of various infrastructures for research is the reason of limitation. This study is no exception and its limitations are as follows:

- i. This study covers only Baramu community of Arupokhari VDC (Ward No. 1, 8).
- ii. It focus socio-economical aspect of Barmamu community of Arupokahari VDC.
- iii. This study will try to find out the major problem of Baramu community in Arupokhari VDC.
- iv. This study will try to find out the changing pattern of Baramu Community in Arupokhari VDC.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 General Review

Caste System is the basic foundation of the Hindu Society. Nepalese social structure is based on the Varna System, where different caste groups and individual interest are interdependent upon each other. The caste or Varna System is based on social classifications. These are the Brahman (Priest) the Kshetri (Warrior or administrator) the Vaishya (merchant) the Sudra (labour). In the history of Nepal, the early Licchavi period. The Lichhavi king divided certain beliefs and criteria. During the medieval period, Jayasthity Malla further structured the caste system that was formulated during the Lichhavi period. He divided work and occupation of according to the various castes for the development of the country, the society and the people with this noble thought in mind no one ever did realize the devastating out come that would later come as the devil of social injustice. The cast system was legalized for the entire country in the code of 1854 (Bista, 1990).

It is an inseparable aspect of Hindu society and closely related with the Hindu philosophy, religion custom and traditions, marriage and family, moral and manner, food and dress habit, occupation and hobbies etc. The cast culture is the major factors for the increasing social differentiation, segmentation and stratification of Hindu society (Prem Khatri and Peshal Dahal, 1987).

According to European concept, caste system is a dramatic game or planning of higher caste people to surtain their life's standardization and a

political planning of Brahmin to establish the regime permanently (Baral 1993).

Nepal has at least 59 indigenous people (NEFIN). The 2001 census sets the total indigenous population at 8.4 million constituting 37.2 percent of the total population in the country.

The people who are the holders of distinct language, cultures, beliefs and knowledge systems are known as 'Janajatis' (Bhattachan and Webstar, 2005).

Representation of indigenous Nationalities in parliament in the Judiciary and administrative Jobs is also disproportionate compared to other cast groups. But representation in local body is significantly higher in comparison to other sectors in terms of political representation, indigenous nationalities come before Dalit but after other caste groups (NHDR, 2007).

Bista (1967) has given basic conceptual information of various ethnic groups and their social problems towards the single main stream "The Hinduization" process. In which Hinduization in various tribal groups e.g. Thakali, Tamang, Magers, Sherpa, Rai, Limbu and other is also highlighted. (Bista, 1967).

Development, therefore is carried out through scientific research and extension to educate, direct, and transform rural people's production and livelihood strategies to develop and modernize them. Technology transfer capital investment and management skills from the western nations are considered necessary for transforming the poor and developing world into a state of advanced industrialization. Whether it is modernization Marxism or an alternative paradigm put forth, the nature

of underdevelopment and development is defined on the basis of a western knowledge system legitimized in the name of scientific validity. Both problems and solutions are "formulated in the dominant power's account of how the world is" The transformation of traditional societies into modern ones as a part of the process of development is defined by reference to the supposed state of the dominant party (Hobart, 1993).

"In a country like Nepal, development is rarely a cumulative process, evolving indigenously through its symbiotic interaction with the expanding base of local knowledge and resource. It is predefined and predetermined in accordance with the westerner's assumption of superiority of their economic rationality, imbued with techno-fetishism. It is this overt emphasis on the presumed superiority of western economic rationality that has led to the total devolution of the local modes of life and economics, consequently breeding and nurturing the culture of dependency and dependent development in Nepal" (Shrestha, 1997)

Development, which has ignored the indigenous knowledge and developed as transnational in during has been severely criticized development, has rarely been kind to the poor and downtrodden as it is invariably polarizing both geographically and socially. History reveals that as Europe prospered, it left its colonies in a state of despair and underdevelopment (Amin 1976, Baran 1973, Frank 1969, Rodney 1974).

Mishra (1987) writes that the onset of underdevelopment in Nepal began during the middle of the 1880s and further adds that the intensification of underdevelopment has developed further in recent years. Underdevelopment in Nepal, therefore, has a long history whose roots lie in the continuous, if unbroken process of peripheralization.

2.2 Plans and some Efforts made for the Upliftment of Indigenous Nationalities

2.2.1 The Ninth Plan

HMG/N had tried to focus on the issues of Indigenous nationalities, together with other marginalized groups, since the Eight (five years) plan. The Eighth plan aimed to uplift indigenous Nationalities by implementing a number of welfare programs, However, the programs formulated by the plan were not able to benefit the diverse range of Indigenous Nationalities across the country. Nevertheless, this plan helped initiate the realization that many of the issues raised by indigenous communities need to be considered separately from group to group, as well as from mainstream groups.

Considering the drawbacks of the earlier programs in the plan included special policy and programs related to indigenous Nationalities, with the aim of elimination social disparities by improving their socio-economic condition and raising the overall cultural status of the nation by undertaking research works on their cultural heritages, which would also help conserve their distinct cultures. The plan also aimed to enhance their capability through empowering them economically, socially and communicably and involving them in the task of nation building by ensuring access to resources by promoting knowledge and modernization their traditional occupations.

Although Indigenous Nationalities issues have been highlighted in both the Eights and Ninth development plans of Nepal, the outputs of these two plans were not encouraging and poverty levels were found to be increasing. Subsequently, a new approach was adopted for the Tenth

plan, in which social and economic inclusion of poor and marginalized groups formed one of the four main pillars.

2.2.2 Indigenous Nationalities and the Tenth Plan

The long term vision of the Tenth plan (2002-2008) for the upliftment of indigenous Nationalities communities, is to boost indigenous people and ethnic groups to achieve their all-round development in the area of economic growth, education, social and cultural upliftment, by mainstreaming ethnic diversity and mainstreaming them into national development on the basis of equality.

The Tenth plan represents a renewed commitment by HMG/N to poverty alleviation. The sole objective is to achieve remarkable and sustainable reduction in the poverty level in Nepal, from 38 percent (estimated) of the population at the beginning of the plan period, to 30 percent by the end of the Tenth plan, and to further reduce the poverty rate to 10 percent in about fifteen year time. To this end, HMG/N has formulated a 'four pillar' poverty identified in the preceding poverty analysis. This strategy, is based on four overarching approaches achieving sustained high and broad based economic growth, focusing particularly on rural economy accelerating human development through a renewed emphasis on effective delivery of basic social service and economic infrastructure ensuring social and economic inclusion of poor marginalized groups and backward regions in the development process: and vigorously pursuing good governance as a means of delivering better development results and ensuring social and economic justice. particularly noteworthy, the Tenth plan seeks as an integral part of its poverty reduction strategy to bring the marginalized sections of the

populations all backward region in the mainstream of development, and to make visible process in reducing existing inequalities.

The objectives is to provide development opportunities by empowering the 'backward' people and people of Indigenous and ethnic groups who are unable to participate actively in the development mainstream.

2.3 Institutions for Indigenous Peoples

2.3.1 Institution of Indigenous Nationalities and its Effort

NFDIN, which is established according to the provision of National Foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities Act 2002 for social, economic and cultural development and upliftment of various indigenous nationalities of Nepal and for their equal participation in the mainstreams of National development. The foundation is an autonomous corporate body with perpetual succession. It has the following objectives.

- a. To make overall development of Indigenous Nationalities by formulation and implementing the programs relating to the social, educational, economical and cultural development and upliftment of Indigenous Nationalistic.
- b. To preserve and promote to language, script, culture literature, arts, history of the indigenous nationalities.
- c. To preserve and promote the traditional knowledge skill, technology and special knowledge of Indigenous Nationalities and to provide assistance in its vocational use.

Since its inception, the main activities initiated by the foundation comprise several linguistic, cultural preservation and socio-economic

empowerment programs for marginalized indigenous Nationality groups. Some initiatives to provide scholarships and programs to promote language have shielded promising results, However, the foundations is still in its infancy and a lot more work needs to be done.

2.3.2 Nepal Federation of Indigenous Nationalities (NEFIN)

GON is committed to work together with civil society to address the issues of Indigenous Nationalities Several NGOs are working to this end. NEFIN and umbrella organization of representing the indigenous, Nationalities works to wards the upliftment the empowerment of Indigenous communities. It represents the broad spectrum of Indigenous Nationalities civil society in this regard. Janajati Empowerment project (JEP) is one of its main activities to empower the officiate organization, NEFIN has 48 Indigenous women's organization.

According to the population census of 2001, the population of indigeneous nationalities is 37.19 percent of the country's total population, while the population of Khas (Bahun-Chhetri) is 28 percent. The indigeneous Nationalities, despite comprising such a large proportion of the population, have been systematically ignored, marginalized and discriminated against by the policies laws and activities of the Nepalese state as a result. Many are disadvantage in political, economic, social cultural and educational sectors. As an increasing number of studies and research has painted out, the outcome of this history of exclusion has resulted in a situation where many indigenous Nationalities continue to be treated as second class citizens within the state.

"The special protection or reservation provided in all areas to one caste (Brahmin), one religion (Hindu), one Language (Khas-Nepali), one

culture (Hindu), one sex (male) and one region (Hill)has had dangerous negative impacts on the Indigenous Nationalities" (Bhattachan 2000).

2.4 Political Ecology

Caplan (1970) has done an invaluable study in the field of political ecology as a full scale attempt to study Hindu-tribal problems in Eastern Nepal. The study reveals the relationship between Brahmins and Limbus in the sphere of various political and economic institutions. He examines the fundamental transformation in the relationship that existed during the century following the absorption of Limbuan into Nepal state, and confrontation over land and how the communal Land ownership (of Limbu) namely 'Kipat' moved to higher caste Hindu and how the government's Land policy is favoring these Brahmins as well how such historic confrontation over Land bought deep division between these two groups. He rightly points that the cleavage has grown out of and expresses a confrontation over Land.

Caplan (1972) has made a significant study of problems of social change in demographic economic and political spheres between high caste Brahmins and untouchable sarkis in a Hindu-Village in Western Nepal. She has paid special attention to political institutions, particularly in terms of social change and illustrates how the then Panchayat politicians utilized how caste groups such as sarkis. She has shown the antagonistic relationship between the two groups and the accusation of cobblers towards Brahmins for taking their land by any means, which is the basis of the very real conflict existing between them.

Political ecology has played a most crucial role in understanding environmental degradation by pointing out inter linkages between degradation, underdevelopment, and poverty. In Nepal, these

considerations have been taken up in the new forest Act (1993) which aims at environmental protection and at the same time, at securing basic needs for forest products. The recent strategy is to form user groups for Joint forest, including the poor. However a detailed analysis of village studies reveals that it is primarily better-off people who become member of forest user groups whereas economically disadvantaged groups, as for instance, ethnic minorities and occupational castes, are usually not included as members.

Above all, some of them lose actual access to common property forest. when this forests are handed over to user groups, because the members exercise a strict control over these forest.

2.5 Development and Anthropology

Rather than standing apart from the subject of the study, some anthropologists have accepted involvement in the development of the people of underdeveloped areas among which they have worked. The recognition of the potential contributions of anthropological knowledge and skills to the development process was slow in coming, but has begun, it take on significant momentum prompted by the apparent failure of top-down, econo-centric, and techno centric approaches, a reevaluation of the cultural and social aspects of development started to take place, opening unprecedented opportunities for anthropology. But the situation remained no longer unhindered. In contrast to anthropology providing socio-cultural facilitation in inducing development in the third world, a new questioning of the very foundation of development through as a field of academic inquiry has arisen.

Escobar (1985) opines that among the several grand strategies constructed by the developed countries which play a crucial role in maintaining domination over the Third world one most important is the

discourse associated with the whole apparatus of development. According to him, faculty argues that the Western developed countries have been able to manage and control and in many ways even create the Third world politically, economically, sociologically and culturally-insuring domination over the Third world today. In this way, development will be seen not as a matter of scientific knowledge a body of theories and programs concerned with the achievement of true progress, but rather as a series of political technologies intended to manage and give shape to the reality of the Third world. Faculty (Cited in Escobar, 1985) Further articulates that the discourse of development is more a sign of power over the Third World than truth about it.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODS

3.1 Research Design

Most of the data and information of the study area concerned with primary and secondary data. To achieve the objectives of the study descriptive data and exploratory research designs were used. This kind of research design helps to interpret the quantitative as well as qualitative data. Descriptive research work has been conducted to find out the socio-economic condition of the Baramu of Arupokhari VDC. This study is descriptive as well as analytical in nature.

3.2 Nature and Sources of Data

Primary qualitative data focusing on words rather than numbers was collected during the field work in April 2008 A.D. in their natural setting by applying various techniques of data collection. Household survey, observation, key informant interviews, focus group discuss, field note taking and unstructured interviews. Mostly. The people from the study area have provided primary data. To some extent secondary and quantitative data were also entertained whenever needed. Secondary data were collected from various sources like government office and local organizations.

3.3 Data collection Techniques

The following techniques were adopted to collect the required information.

3.3.1 Household Survey

"Survey research is the method of collecting information by asking a set of preformulated questions in a predetermined sequence in a structured questionnaire to a sample of individuals drawn so as to be representative of a defined population". (Hutton, 1990 and quoted in Blaxter 1999)

In this way, social survey was used to collect data about the living and working condition, of the people in a community under question. Survey techniques was more helpful and effective in respect to current problems about which informants have provided information from memory because of its significance on their life.

Some basic facts of Baramu households and communities. Such as social and economic status; were sought from the household survey. This included educational status, on and off farm occupation trends access to, and utilization of resources and land ownership pattern etc.

3.3.2 Field Observation

Observation may be defined as systematic viewing coupled with consideration of seen phenomena (Young, 1949:161) Field visit helps to get the clear vision for this particular problems. Required information may not be obtained only through surveys and interview methods. Therefore this study is utilized the field observation method. During the observation, Local settlement pattern, life-style, culture, nature and habit of the Baramu of Arupakhari VDC. are taken in mind.

3.3.3 Questionnaire

Questionnaire is a list of questions used to collect quantitative data and qualitative data too. Questionnaire method is used to collect information about their population, composition, occupation, health, livestock, Land holding pattern, education status, religion, culture, family structure, changing, pattern, problems etc. A set of structured questionnaire was used for household

3.3.4 Interview and Face-to-face Dialogue

Interview and face-to-face dialogue method was also used to collect primary information related to this study. Information was concentrated on the socio-economics status of the Baramu in Aru Pokhari VDC. This technique helps to find out the nature of people, social condition, norms and value of their society. From both literate and illiterate people interview can be taken. This method is more useful to make the study more reliable.

3.3.5 Focus Group Discussion

Under this method, the discussions were held in focus groups facilitated by the researcher, as well as focus was made on (informal) group discussions too. The discussions were done within groups heterogeneous in age, sex, educational status, and social class. In addition, group in informal meetings like ritual ceremonies. Working in-groups and teashop chants were also entertained as important sources of information.

3.3.6 Data Analysis and Presentation

Raw data and information collected from field is not complete itself to find out the conclusion. In the words of Baker (1994: 250) "..... the task of analysis is to bring order out of the chaos of your notes, to pick out the central themes of your study and to carry them across to your written work." To make it complete, data should be processed and analyzed, collected data and information and presented in short and sweet thought coding, editing classification and tabulation it. After the processing and tabulation, the data is presented with the help of simple tabular analysis to be interpreted and generalized for the reflection of the whole study area. In this way many socio-economic aspect such as population, educational status, income or expenditure etc. have been tabulated and analyzed in details.

CHAPTER FOUR

LOCATION AND CULTURAL CONDITION OF BARAMU PEOPLE

4.1 Physical Setting

Arucheprak, Ahale, and Alketan lie in Arupokhari VDC (Ward No. 1, 8) in Gorkha District, where this study was carried out. Located in the western adjoining area of Arughat Bazar, which was one of the main bazaar on then time East-West main trail linking pokhara with Kathmandu as well as another trial which still Links Larke Bhanjyang to Tibet also passage through the very bazaar. The research area is not so far from the motorable but earthen road, which links Gorkha Bazar through Ghyampeshal with Arughat bazaar. The road has been in existence since 1995 AD. and is in operating other than in rainy season, carrying passengers and consumer goods mostly. Arughat is also linked with Dhading Beshi (The headquarter of Dhading district) by another earthen road. But Aru Pokhari is not linked with the road on either side.

Gorkha district lies in the northeast boarder of, Gandaki Zone between 27⁰ 15' and 28⁰ 45' north latitude and 84⁰ 27' and 84⁰ 58' east longitude. Topographically Gorkha is a mountains district and is located between altitude 228 m to 8156 above the sea level and climatic regions varying from tropical alpine in type is bordered with Dhading district to the South, Lamjung and Manang districts to the west and Chinese autonomous region of Tibet to the north (see map).

The area of the district is 3610 km² containing a diverse Landscape and regions as well as some places having historical and religious significance. The process of unification. Which led to the foundation of Modern Nepal. Among the 66 VDC and 1 municipality of Gorkha

district, Arupokhari lies in the mid-eastern part. Situated between 84° 45' to 84° 50' east longitude to 28° 04' to 28° 05' north latitude. The climate of the area is sub-tropical and the average temperature ranges from 15° C to 25° C. The record of Development of Hydrology and meteorology shows that the average annual rainfall of the area is 728 mm and most of the rain (587.3 mm) falls during the Mansoon Season and the average relative humidity is 78.70 to 80.30 percent.

In addition to Baramus, Other ethnic groups such as Gurung, Magar, and Caste Hindus like Brahmins, Chhetris, Sarki and Dami reside in the study area. Most of the households of the Baramus are found in different cluster whereas other co-exist with that of Brahmin, Chhetri, Gurung, Magar, Sarki, Damai live in different cultures. The distribution of the Baramu households in different clusters of the study area is given in Table 1.

Table No 1
Households in the Study Area by Settlement
of Arupokhari VDC

Name of the settlement	Number of Households	Ward No.	Percentage
Majh Gaon	16	1	25.82
Danda Swanra	9	1	14.52
Pipal Gaon	8	1	12.91
Naya Ghare	7	1	11.30
Danda Pari	7	1	11.30
Bistari Gaon	6	1	9.69
Ahale	6	8	9.69
Alke Tar	3	8	4.85
Total	62		100.00

Source: Field survey, April 2008.

Ahale lies in the bank of Motikhola where Baramu households co-exist with that of Brahmins. Alke Tar consists of only three Baramu households. Baramus from both of these settlements have moved there from the neighboring village-Tandrang about 30 years ago.

4.2 Castes and Cultural Traditions

Among the inhabitants of the study area Baramu is the single ground and having more population while comparing the caste and ethnic group individually with each other. One remarkable thing to note down is that neither of the ethnic group of Baramu, Gurung and Magar of the study area can speak their own Language (i.e. Bal language, Gurung language and Magar Language respectively) whereas their counterparts in neighboring areas can speak. Nepali is the native Language as well as mother tongue to all of them.

Baramus who are taken to be migrant inhabitants of the area, like their fellow caste and ethnic people, themselves claim that they are Hindus (Gorkha Baram Association: 1995). However few Baramus have begun to follow Christianity. Their physical appearance shows that they are of two types- one is the mongolorid type and the other resembles to be the Indo-Aryan types. As well as their cultural practices also are combination of both indo-Aryan and mongoloid group, nevertheless, Hindu values and practices are the dominant features. So that they are categorized as highly marginalized ethnic group of Nepal.

4.3 Clan

Like their high caste fellow villagers, the Baramus of Arupokhri VDC are also divided into various Clan. Baramu is their caste. Some of their clan are similar to that of Gurung's clan like Lamichhne, Khulal etc.

Some clan like Binicha are also further divided into sub-units. During the fieldwork, I have found ten clan of the Baramus of Arupokhari, which are shown in the following table.

Table No. 2
Clan of the Baramus of the Study Area

Clan	
Nansing	Kalakute
Khulal	Lamichane
Jhimel	Chana-Ghale
Binicha	Shertane
Khursane	Darmal

Source: Field Survey, April, 2008.

4.4 Population

From the total of 62 surveyed households, the total population of the Baramus was recorded 428 of which male population is larger (52.57%) than that of female (47.43%) during the survey, those who are living in the household from the years or are supposed to live even if s/he is not considered as family members like married daughter and her offspring. Parents in a married daughter's household were also included. Table 3 shows the distribution of the Baramus under the study are by age sex structure.

Table No. 3
Age and Sex Structure of the Baramu Population
of the Study Area

Age Group	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0-4	20	4.67	26	6.07	46	10.74
5-9	30	7.00	27	6.31	57	13.32
10-14	31	7.25	22	5.14	53	12.39
15-19	26	6.07	19	4.44	45	10.51
20-24	20	4.68	21	4.91	41	9.59
25-29	19	4.44	18	4.20	37	8.64
30-34	12	2.80	12	2.80	24	5.60
35-39	12	2.80	13	3.04	25	5.84
40-44	13	3.04	11	2.58	24	5.62
45-49	11	2.58	11	2.58	22	5.16
50-54	9	2.10	7	1.63	16	3.73
55-59	5	1.17	6	1.40	11	2.57
60-65	4	0.94	4	0.93	8	1.87
65-69	5	1.17	2	0.49	7	1.64
70+	8	1.86	4	0.93	12	2.79
Total	225	52.57	203	47.43	428	100.00

Source: Field Survey, April, 2008.

Although, generally population between 15-59 age group only is regarded as economically active population but in case of Baramus of the study area it is not applicable. It is because, during my field work even the children and elderly people were actively involved in economic activities.

It is found from the survey that the Largest size of the households is 19 while that of smaller household was 2. The average household size was 6.90. The average of the household size is also higher than that of national average, which is only 5.50 (population census, 1991). It is found that 28 households (45.16%) are larger than average size and 266 (62.15%) people of the study area reside their. From this analysis it can be said that Baramu generally live in large households (see table 4).

Table 4
Distribution of Households and Residents in them by Size of Households

Household Size	No. of HHs	% of total HHs	Total Person in HHs	% of total population
19	1	1.61	19	4.44
16	2	3.23	32	7.48
12	2	3.23	24	5.61
11	3	4.84	33	7.71
10	4	6.45	40	9.35
8	6	9.68	48	11.21
7	10	16.13	70	16.36
6	11	17.74	66	15.42
5	10	16.13	50	11.68
4	8	12.90	32	7.48
3	4	6.45	12	2.80
2	1	1.61	2	0.46
Total	62	100.00	428	100.00

Most of the Baramus were found to be permanent residents of the village which also includes sons/daughters of the married dughter who

are residing there permanently as well as separated lady residing in her *maiti*. Among the 51 part time resident 9 are the women and children who have gone along with the man working in other parts of the country. Among the 16 away resident 7 are female and children and they are in India along with the man working there and one of the 9 away male resident works in Gulf (See Table 5)

Table 5
Residential Status of the Baramus

Resident Status	Male	% of total Pop	Female	% of total	Total	% of Total
Full time	174	40.65	187	43.69	361	84.35
Part time	42	9.81	9	2.10	51	11.92
Away	9	2.10	7	1.64	16	3.73
Total	225	52.57	203	47.43	428	100.00

Source: Field Survey, April, 2008.

4.5 Education

In Cheprak there is a primary school which was established in 1980. Where as in Ahale and Alketar there is not even a single primary school. To acquired secondary education the students from Cheprak also have to walk at least half an hour. Table 6 shows the trends in literacy among the Baramus.

Table No. 6
Educational Status of the Baramus by Age and Sex
(Distribution of the Baramu Population by Age and Sex for
Education)

Educational Status	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Illiterate	67	15.65	83	19.39	150	35.04
Just literate	30	7.01	16	3.74	46	10.75
1-5 class	48	11.22	43	10.05	91	21.26
6-10 class	44	10.28	27	6.31	71	16.59
SLC	9	2.10	4	0.93	13	3.04
Intermediate or +2	4	0.93	2	0.47	6	1.40
Bachelor	3	0.70	2	0.47	5	1.17
Total	205	47.90	177	41.36	382	89.25

Source: Field Survey, April, 2008.

Note: Children under 5 years of age are excluded.

From above table it is found that a total of 150 (35.04%) are illiterate, 46 of the total population were just literate. Although the school going age generally considered is 5 to 6 years old but in the research area most of the children go to school around 6 to 8 years old. Among them 24 person have passed SLC and above.

Significant proportion of Baramu households are involved in agriculture, portering and wage laboring for which either direct involvement of children are required which either direct involvement of children are required or they have to stay in the house in absence of the elder members of the households. So they are enrolled into school at the late age of about 8 years as well as do not have sufficient time to continue

even if they envoll. As well as those who are lucky enough to have opportunity to go to school are also not willing to acquired further education but to be eligible to become lohure (here it denotes to have job in the military service other than Nepal Army, specially British and Indian Army) some of those who still want to study felt ashamed when they reach class 8-9 for being elder than that of their colleague from high caste.

4.6 Cultural Condition

Culture is man establish tradition. It refers to the entire way of society, It is the result of human mind but Karl marx says that culture is the result of economic factor. Gorkha is a multilingual, multicultural and multi ethnic district. The way of life, dress, language, socio-economic and cultural identities of the people are apparently differently followed by different caste and places. There fore each group/caste of people have their won identities and cultural practices. Baramu communities of Arupokhari VDC has also own culture and identities. Some are attractive and important culture but some are rigid culture, which are obstacle for their development.

4.6.1 Birth Ritual

Birth is the universal fact of human life. In Baramu Community of study area, after marriage couples are socially approved for sexual intercourse and can give birth of children. Other wise it becomes immoral and illegal. During the decivery, they call the nursing mother (Sudeni) but she is not equipped with needy materials, i.e. "*Sukeri Samagri*". Some of the Baramu Women give Birth of the Children in farm, Jungle and cowshed when they out of home.

After pregnancy, they live in one corner of their house. Their family collected nutrition foods likewise chicken, eggs, meat etc. When the baby is boy family becomes happy but if the baby is girl they becomes unhabppy. In the eleventh day of the Birth they celebrate '*nwaran*' and they purify the house, where the mother stays and gave birth to the baby, the house is purified through the use of cow dung and soil than cow urine and '*Sunpani*' are aften sprinkled. '*nwaran*' is carried out on the elevent day of the male child's birth and it can be held on many day from the fifth day to the eleventh day in case of a female child. This marks the higher status of the male than the female in the Baramu community. This rite is carried out of purity from the birth pollution and naming the new by. Husband or new baby's fathers sister performs the ceremony. He brings cow's urine and sprinkles to the baby, the mother other member of the family and the crops and fruits nearby the house. then he ties a yellow thread around the wrist of the baby's fathers, mother and the baby himself. Then he chooses name for the baby.

4.6.2 Pasni/Bhat Khuwai

During this ceremony the baby is fed with solid food for the first time. It is had after six months of his birth for a male child and in case of the girls child after 5 months. The day and time of feeding are consulted. With the Brahmin priest. In case, if the baby had been fed the solid food immediate after his/her birth. the very ceremony is no longer required. This is called '*jutho Khuwaune*' *Jutho Khuwanune* is done mainly for two reason one is to avoid organizing the grand ceremony during the pasni because of poverty and on the other hand. If the elder siblings of the baby were dying then to make the baby *Jutho* (impure) so that, the death will not take him/her.

First of all, the baby's mother gives *red Tika* made of red powder, rice and curd to the baby. Then she feeds the baby with the coin, which had been robbed recently with gold, then the father and other members of the family and all the invitees offer money, new clothes, dishes etc. to the baby as gift. Generally at last a person from each household of the host's *Kutumba* and *Dajubhai Khalak* are invited during the ceremony and are served food.

4.6.3 Chhewar (Hair Cutting)

This is the rite of hair cutting arranged only for the male child when he reaches seven. The day and the time of perform chhewar is consulted with Brahmin priest. A maternal uncle is needed but his *Barga* shouldn't be of enemy to that of the child.

Maternal uncle ties the child by his neck with cow's *Damlo* (the rope to the animals) in the cow shed. Whiled cutting the hair, the child has to hold money, Dubo, bread and cow dung on his mouth. When hair cutting is over, then the maternal uncle unties him and allowed to take out things from the mouth. The hairs are placed under the *piple tree*, and the maternal uncle gives him new clothes. He gives *Tika* to the child and the child is brought in the house where other invitees also give him *Tika* and '*Dakshina* (Money given after *Tika*) and the invitees were served male and local liquors.

4.6.4 Marriage

A short account of marriage as an institution/organization has been made above a brief description of the process is as follows:

The process of tradition of *Magi Bibaha* begins with the marriage proposal from the boy's side who go to the girl's house with a *Surkepong*,

Surkepurng is wooden vessel containing local liquar carried with special knot of the rope/thread viz, *surkane Gantho*, which can be united very easily . The knot has the symbolic meaning that the knot as the proposal can be easily united.

When two side agree doing marry then the *Barga Herane* is done. If the *barga* of the boy and the girls is not of enemy then marriage can be done. however, now a day, this practice is note strictly followed.

The next step is *Theki - Bheti Garne* or *Theki pung* line. *Theki pung* consist of one *Theki* of curd, two and a half kilogram of wine, twenty sale *Roti*, a bunch of *Saal* leaves, one cock, nine *paise* as *Bheti*, some fish, one sugarcane, and a *Kutumba* has go to as a *Lami* with double edged Javein. All those who accompanied from boy's side with *Theki pung* are done *parsine* (auspicious well come) with *Achheta* (mixture of red vermillion powder, rice, and curd) by the girl's side. Then the Javelin and the sugarcane are stand on the *Baleni* (where the rainfall form the roof) and other things are brought inside by the girl. Then a girl form bride's side does *potnu* on the thresh hold and the boy cuts the cock. After this, the girl's father gives *Tika* to the boy. Finally, a meal is served. *Theki pung lane* is the confirmation of marriage, which has significant importance in the marriage, process. During this time, the lagan (time and date of the marriage) and number of entourage (*Janti*) is discussed and decided. Sometimes they consult with a Brahmin priest about the lagan, Generally, the marriage is held with in six month from the day of '*Thiki pung' lone'*. After *Theki pung* lane, if the boy/girl dies then the counterpart has to perform his/her death rite are to his/her spouse or if the girls elopes with another men, the boy has the right to get *Jari* next day the bride's family organized a feast for their relatives with the goods form the groom's side. At least person from each invited household

participates there. The *birde* and the groom visit only to those households for *Tika* during the *Tika* of next Dasien who have been invited and present on the feast. On the prescribed wedding day the bridegroom has to go through all the necessary rituals in his house. Then the groom goes to bride's house along with *Janti* who are from his *Dajubhai* and others *Kutumba Khalak*, who are preceded by a musical band of *Damai*, *Barindabhari (Rit Bhat)* and a man crying Javelin (*Bhala*). *Barindabhari* comprises of 30 kg of wine, two hundred and forty bread (*Sale Roti*), one *sapeta* (leg) of a he goat, *Eak pathi Chamal* (to bride's mother) a bunch of *Sale* leaf. Upon reaching the bride's house various rituals are performed. The *Kutumba* of the bride's father (Sometimes Brahmin Priest) preterms the role of the priest. Among the main rituals are *Goda Dhune* i.e. washing the bride's feet (Some times also of the groom) and during his the invites give gift of money and dishes, *Sindur Halne* i.e. to put varmillion powder by the groom on the bride's *siundo*, a narrow groove in the middle of the head, and *Kanyadan* i.e. the donation of the bride to the bride groom. This used to be a two night's ceremony but now one night is widely practiced. Then the *Janti* prepare to move towards the groom's house taking the bride with them. Then *Dulahi Bhitryanue* is done which means taking the bride in to the house.

Table 7

Types of marriage of Baramu in Arupokhari

Marriage	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Arrange marriage	35	56.45
Love marriage	16	25.81
Jari Marriage	11	17.74
Total	62	100.00

Source: Field Survey, April 2008.

4.6.5 Dress and Ornaments

Dress and ornaments are different in different time and places. The Baramu of the study area they wear warm and woolen clothes in the winter and light clothes in the Summer season. They are influenced by the other caste like *Brahmin, Kshetri, Newar* etc., to their dress, man use the *Jange* (half paint) *Daura Suruwal, Topi, Kachhad* and women were *cholo, phariya* (sari) etc. Now a days both men and women used modern dresses likewise shirt, paint, coat, Jacket, cap, shoes, sleepers, *Dhoti, Maxi, sari* etc. specially unmarried schoolgirls were *kurta surwal* and shirt -frock.

They generally use ear rings, nose rings, *Dhungri, Bala, Mala, beraute, Pote* etc. Now a days they were Top and *Tilahari*. Due to low economic status of Baramus, they use Low quality and quantity of clothes and ornaments.

4.6.6 Religion and Language

Each communities has own culture, religion, language, customs, and tradition, Baramu of the study area said that they are all Hindu. They believe on god and fate. They worship gods and goddesses or witch - doctor (*Dhami - Jhankri*). The language of baramu is '*bal kura*' but now they generally speak Nepali (Khas) Language. Thus, they have no problems to communicate with other people.

4.6.7 Food Habits

Most of the Baramus of study are eat *dhindo* (a kind of food prepared by flour of corn millet), *Dal-Bhat, roti*. The main food are rice, *dnindo* of millet, wheat and curry of dry vegetables, potato etc. They are non-vegetarians, they used to eat goat, (he and she both), Buffalo, (he and

she both) fish etc. Baramu's food item depend on what they get from agriculture labour, and other occupation. In fact, their food habit is not good, hygiene and clean due to their poverty.

4.6.8 Festivals

In Nepal Gor are more than people and festivals are more than days, different cast of Nepal has different customs and traditions and celebrate festivals in their own style. The Baramu community of study area celebrate various festivals as same as other cast. They are all Hindu. So they celebrate various Hindu festivals i.e. *Dashain*, *Tihar*, *Maghe Sankranti*, *Saune Sankranti*, *Chaite Dashain* etc. They celebrate these festivals happily, hopefully and they after were new cloths and go to the relatives. They celebrate all festivals with pleasure although they are poor. The following table shows the main festivals of the Baramu Community of study area.

Table 8
Festival of Baramus in Anipokhari

S.N.	Festivals	Month	Celebrating Days
1	<i>Chaite Dashain</i>	<i>Chaitra</i>	1
2	<i>Baisahka Purnima</i>	<i>Baisakha</i>	1
3	<i>Saune Sankranti</i>	<i>Saun</i>	1
4	<i>Dashain</i>	<i>Aswin/Kartik</i>	9
5	<i>Tihar</i>	<i>Kartik</i>	5
6	<i>Maghe Sakranti</i>	<i>Magh</i>	1

Source : Field Survey, April, 2008.

4.6.9 Death Ritual (Mrityu Sanskara)

Before the influence of high caste Brahmin, Baramu used to bury the corpse either on the hilltop or in the riverbank, but now a day they have begun to cremate in the river bank. When a person dies a son-in-law (at least a member of *Kutumba Khalak*) does potne on the courtyard and the corpse offer flower, red flower as a condolence to the deceased. Corpse is covered with a white cloth and which is also covered with yellow silk cloth. Then he is tied to a fresh green bamboo frame with plaited bamboo ropes and carried to the river Budhi Gandaki or Stul Khola for cremation. The person carrying (going with) the corpse are called *malami*.

Now a days other fellow *Jat/Jati* also go as *malami* but they do not touch the corpse, but can carry firewood. Along with the corpse, rice cooked of one *mana chamal* is also carried as the final meal (and thrown in to the river) to the deceased. A man scattering coins and grains of *Jau* and *til* precedes the *malami*. On reaching the river bank, the corpse is placed in such a way that it touches the water and funeral pyre is prepared. Then the corpse is lifted into it and the face is unveiled is placed on the mouth and chin. Then the corpse is lifted into it and the face is unveiled and a cerin is placed on the dead body. Then the (eldest) son sets the *Dag Batti* (Cremation fire) and gradually the corpse is burnt. After cremation all the *malami* take bath and the sons shave their hair and wear coarse white cloth and go back to the home. The sons taking the role of *kiriyaputri* has to observed the death pollution and perform certain rituals. *Kiriyaputri* have to eat *Aluno* (no salt) food prepared by the son-in-law/brother-in-law, bath daily at the nearby water source and he must

not speak in dialogic with anyone nor must he touch or be touched by any one during the period of death pollution.

On the 12th day's evening, *Jand*, *Raksi*, alive fish and water should be kept in separate bamboo vessel and kept in pure place. On the 13th day in the morning *kiriyaputri* bath and one purified with *Jau*, *til*, Cow urine by the *Juwain* and are allowed to eat salted meal. In this way all the member of the family are purified. During this day the *malami* are invited at the deceased house and were also given food to eat, *Raksi*, or *Jand* to drink. *Kiriyaputri* also gives *Tika* and *Dakshina* (money) to the *Kutumbas*, daughters and sister. Then, *malami* bring out the things, which had been kept on the 12th day and place on the trail, a bit far from the house in the name of the deceased.

CHAPTER FIVE

ECONOMIC STATUS OF BARAMU

Economic status Play vital role in the every sector of development and human life. It directly affects the social aspect of a person and a family. The raising of income levels is generally called economic growth/development. But, economic development is a multi - dimensional phenomenon, it involves not only increase in money, incomes but also improvement in real habits, education, public health, greater leisure and in fact all the social and economic circumstances that make for the fuller and happier life (D. B. Sing) four main basic human need i.e. food, clothing, shelter, and education are necessary for survival truly. But Nepal is facing various problem in one or all the four aspects of survival.

Economic status can be benified simply as a rich and poor. Economic conditon plays an important role in the prosperity of the cast or community as it has direct influence upon other aspects. Economic condition includes different aspects concerned with the economy, i.e. trade, agriculture, industry, Labour etc. Most of the Baramu of Arupokhari VDC have low economic status. Agriculture is the main occupation, but the agricultural production is deficiency to survive for a year. They always depend on other for rice. They are also engaged in other income activities i.e. agriculture, labour, wage labour, service, etc. Now a days they are leaving their ancestor Job and involved in other labouring work. This chapter mainly highlight the occupation, housing, condition, land ownership, agricultural production, livestock, income and expenditure of Baramu community of Arupokhari VDC.

5.1 Occupation

Occupation is the source of income. Agriculture is the main occupation of the Baramus of Arupokhari VDC although they are engaged in other income activities. But they haven't still involved in the business due to poverty and lack of the knowledge. The following table shows the occupational status of Baramus.

Table 9
Occupational Status of the Respondents

Occupation	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Agriculture	40	64.50
Daily wage labour	12	19.35
Job holder	10	16.15
Total	62	100.00

Source: Field Survey, April, 2008.

The above table shows that out of the total 62 respondents 64.50 percent of respondents main occupation is agriculture, 19.35 percent respondents are involved in daily wages labour. 16.15 percent respondents are job holders. In this way, most of the Baramus depend on agriculture.

5.1.1 Agriculture

Whether it was before or after loosing *kipat* and land, the agriculture from which they have never been able to manage has always been the major sources of food supply for the Baramu of Arupokhari.

Beside cultivation on their own land, the Baramus have also been engaged in sharecropping of other's land. The land in the study area of Arupokhari compares mostly of small terraces made on the northern

and southern hill slope, more than two thirds of which is *bari*. Here, it is equally important in the case of the Baramus also what Hofer (1978) writes "... the traditional attachment to dry field cultivation and the growing monetization of the market in the period following world war I further enhanced their impoverishment (Hofer, A. 1978). The land of the study area is less fertile than that of the neighboring area. They grow maize millet, some rice, and vegetables etc. Among the households studied only four reported having food sufficiency throughout the year.

5.1.1.1 Land and Major Crops

In the agrarian economy of the Baramu community, land is the vital sources of agricultural. The size of land which Baramus hold is not only small but also the productivity of the land is low. They have no land of *Abal*, *Doyam* or *Sim* but only *Chahar*, which is the fourth grade according to the state classification based mostly on the productivity of the land. The marginal land and forested land has thus been changed into cultivated land as well. After the abolition of the *kipat* system all the land in the area has been converted into *Raikar* tenure. Table 10 shows the distribution of land among the 62 Baramu household from the study area.

Table 10

Land Distribution among the Baramu Households

Size of Land (in Ropani)	Total Household	Percentage
Land less	8	12.90
1-10	38	61.29
11-20	8	12.90
21-30	7	11.29
31 and above	1	1.62
Total	62	100.00

Source: Field Survey, April, 2008.

Among the 62 household covered in the survey 25 households do not have *khet* land and 54 households have less than 21 *ropani* land. these households experience scarcity of food for almost 8 months in a year of those who own more than 21 *ropani*. Because of unequal distribution of land the involvement of Baramus in the multiple occupation, a typical socio-economic institution viz, *Adhiya* has been developed. Some households who do not have land or have small piece of land with large family size are found to be involved in share cropping.

Among the owners of the sharecropped Land, the Baramus are from the study area and the non-Baramus mostly upper caste groups are from the neighboring villages but own land in the study area. Some of these high caste people are those for whom these Baramus had served as *Niju* under the *Bani* system some Baramu household do share cutting of Khar (thatch) too. Some households have done *Thekka* (contract) and have to pay fixed amount of money to the landlord annually, whereas it was only half of the product in case of general sharecropping. General the agreement between the landowner and sharecropper is done around *Pandhra* push.

Maize, millet, and paddy are the major crops of grown in the study area. After the cultivation of mazie and millet, *Bari* land remains fallow for about four mouths. Sometimes they also grown *Ghaiya Dhan* in *Bari* as intercropped with maize. During the winter, they grow some mustard and vegetables in *Gharbari* (the Bari Land near house) Because of the less fertile land and distance to protect maize from monkeys, they cultivate only summer paddy in *Khet*.

The Baramus have kept the cultivation of two crops in Bari from the beginning. After fifteen years ago they tried to cultivate wheat in Khet

as a winter crop but were not successful and gave up the idea for the last twenty years they have been using *Bikase mal* (Chemical Fertilizer) especially urea with animal manures.

Some are also using *Bikase Makai* (Improved varieties of maize) whereas other returned to using the local variety because the *Bikase* maize was highly affected and destroyed by *Ghun* (a kind of insect).

All the households are cultivating staple food for their subsistence need whereas four households were found to be involved in commercial farming of fruits and seasonal vegetables.

Despite their hard - effort in agriculture and other income generating activities some households can not fulfill their hand to mouth problem when there is a sudden need of money, for instance, when someone in the family becomes ill, it is a difficult time for them. Because of their limited sources of income, they have been mortgaging their land for short time (up to 2-3 years), to acquire money. They have to be deprived of using the land until fully repaying the loan. *Khet* especially is required for mortgaging and to get a loan.

5.1.1.2 Animal Husbandry

Animal husbandry is interrelated and interdependent on the farming system and an integral part of the agricultural system in the study area. The Baramu of the study area kept buffaloes, cattle, goats, and chicken. These animals have multifaceted utilities; economic agricultural, and socio-cultural. Table 11 shows the type and total number of livestock raised and the change over the twenty years.

Table No. 11

Total number of livestock by Type: twenty year Ago and Now

Animals	Twenty Years Back	At Present
Buffaloes	185	168
Cattle	212	171
Goats	180	193
Chickens	230	352

Source: Field Survey, April, 2008.

Table 11 shows the significant changes in the numbers and kind of animals. this is a function of several factors related with animals such as economic importance, availability of parture and fodder, decreasing trend of share vaising of animals and increasing trend of youths to more out of the village. For instance, chicken and goats are increasing along with their economic importance, cattle and buffaloes are decreasing because of decreasing trend of share raising of animals and the lessees economic value of cows.

Stall-feeding has increased because of restriction of community forestry and Lack of manpower to graze. If the household is near a Jungle they widely practice grazing. Lack of exit routes during the summer when *Khet-Bari* is full of crops has caused some households not to have the opportunity to graze.

Those who can not buy animals themselves do practice *Adhiya* (Share - rasing) in order to have manure and the every other offspring from the animal. Therefore, only female animals are share - raised. Some times the household raises animals in order to please the moneylender too. Most of the buffaloes raised in share are from Baramus of

Arupokhari and the surrounding area. Because of the decreasing economic importance of cows not a single has been share-raised.

Besides Adhiya, the economic importance of livestock has resulted in the persistence of another socio-economic institution viz; *pewa*, women are the owners of *pewa* and her *maiti* provides the animals (sometimes land) as *pewa*. As per her convenience. She keeps the *pewa* either in her *maiti* or in her own house usually the *pewa* is given to her if she is the daughter -in-law of a joint family or her economic condition is not so well. Animals which have more economic values, like chicken, goats, and buffaloes are given as *pewa*. In this way, *pewa* maintains ties between the *maiti* and the married daughter in addition to giving her some economic support.

5.1.2 Division and Organization of Labour

The households is the basic economic unit among the Baramus of Arupokhari. They practice agricultural activities in the family. In this context, family labor is vital to the household. Baramu children begin to assist their parents from the very beginning. There is division of labor according to the ages and sexes of the members. Some work is gender specific whereas other are performed by either sex or jointly. Plowing, leveling, threshing and winnowing and building and maintenance of terraces and irrigation canals are main specific jobs. Whereas transplantation/sowing of crops and feeding animals are female specific jobs. Females are assisted by their children too. Irrigation, harvesting and storing of food grains, grazing of animals and changing the animal shed were found to be performed by both the male and the female as per the availability of them.

In case of absence/unavailability of male/female for the gender specific job, it is done either through *parma* or by hiring someone else. When the job is done jointly by both male and female and in case of absence of the counterpart then another's work load increase.

The Baramus prefer working collectively in their field rather than individually. They need coordination and cooperation among themselves. There is a practice of system of reciprocal or exchange labor known as *parma*. The practice of *parma* is done during the high labour demanded season like carrying manure, transplantation, and harvesting. *Parma* is based on the principle of equality i.e. one person day is equal to another person day regardless of their sex. *Parma* is practiced among the caste/ethnic group too. Which has helped to strengthen the social ties. It is widely practiced specially for agricultural activities and not for other specialized jobs like carpentry. Porterage etc. All the laborers under this system take both meals in their respective households and the host provides *khaja* during the day.

When anyone household is unable to do his/household work because of contingent factors like fire, landslide, illness or death in a family, his neighbors provide him. *Sahayog*. Unlike *Parma* is not direct reciprocal nor it is confined only in agricultural activities. The host does not have to offer the helpers any food. This system has been developed to cope with unexpected incidents. In other words, the burden is shared among the members of the community.

Another practice of obtaining labour is called *Bhoj Khaera kam Garne* (working and feast). All those who are invited for the work are offered the feast of sale *Roti*, local liquor, vegetables etc. It is not wage labouring for money. It is practiced for agricultural and other non-

agricultural activities too, for instance, harvesting of paddy and straw,. construction of new house changing of roof of the house/shed etc. It is not a direct reciprocal labour exchange but every house hold gets these kinds of work done under this system. It has been developed to share both joy and economic burden.

5.1.3 Transitory and Shaken Off -Farm Economic Activities

Agriculture, which has been the main source of livelihood for most Baramu households has always been unable to provide sufficient food grains throughout the year. So the Baramu are involved in multiple occupations to acquire their livelihood. Changes in the socio-cultural economic environment have consequently made significant and inevitable influences in their occupations over the years. Their present involvement at the household level. Other than agricultural activities has been shown in table 12.

Table 12
Involvement of the Baramus of the Study Area in Different Occupation

Occupations	Total HHs	Percentage
Farm and Off-farm wage laboring (Local)	30	48.39
Portering	4	6.45
Wage laboring (else where)	8	12.90
Teaching and other service	10	16.13
Liquor selling	6	9.68
Timber selling	4	6.45
Total	62	100.00

Source: Field Survey, April, 2008.

5.1.3.1 Wage Laboring

A significant number 38 of households have wage laboring as major sources of Income and the number are increasing. Here it should not be misunderstood that wage labor is not the only sources of income rather this is the main economic activity that earns there households their daily necessities. Baramus who have no land or have abandoned their traditional occupations of *Bani* and *Dole* are involved in seleing their physical Labor in and outside agriculture, small land holders who have not been out of the village for any other job are also pursuing wage laboring. Those displaced from pottering wholly or seasonally are also attracted to this job.

Both males and females are involved in this activity whereas their area of involvement may very as per the nature and requirement of the work. There is discrimination in wages on the basis of sex and the males always get paid more than their female counterparts.

Wage labour are employed for various jobs like carrying manure, plowing, plantations, and harvesting of crops, cutting thatch, carpentry, changing the roofs etc. Generally, households whose income source are higher and do not want to do these physical labours or during the high work season, employees wage laborers. So the Baramus perform wage labour mostly for the high caste households having more land, in and around their village wage laborers are paid both in kind and in cash. Wages in their own village is relatively low, so they prefer to go elsewhere locally.

Some Baramus are also working in other parts of Nepal and in India as drivers, conductors, waiters, watchmen, and doormen etc. but

their contribution to the households income is either normal or does not exist at all. Only 3 Baramu was found to be working in the middle - East. because of the scarcity of money to invest (which cost about Rs. 85000) to go to the Gulf. Mostly they are going to India, which costs only about a thousand rupees.

5.1.3.2 Porter

Forced to search for new occupations after the decay of *Bani* and Collapse of *Dole* system, and attracted to the opportunity from the expanded local market of Arughat and Ghayampeshal, Baramus have been ordering for the year. Portening has become one of the major economic activities for the Baramus of the study area. During field work 6.45 households held portering as their main sources of income. Both male and female are employed in this occupation. Since the wages are paid on the basis of weight carried, there is no gender discrimination in this occupation. However, a painful story behind the portering of a mother of small child from Gorkha to Arughat with two days of walk, are not visible easily from the outside. They have taken such conditions too as an opportunity but now they are witnessing the black could of construction of road, over that sort of opportunity.

The Baramus carry Loads from Gorkha Bazar to Ghyampeshal and Arughat Bazar. After the construction of an earthen road from Gorkha Bazar to Arughat their second major off form activity namely, portering has been shaken severely and there by some of them have sought to employ them selves as local wage laborers.

5.1.3.3 Teaching and Other Services

The Baramus of old age still remember the bitter days when they were formally restricted to enter into any government services. They say that they were allowed formally only after the dawn of democracy in 1951. But now a day because of lack of high official/powerful *Aafnumanchhe* to Join in any other services, they found in the police and army. I found 6 police, 2 army and 2 primary school teachers.

5.1.3.4 Selling Local Liquor

Baramus are the people of relaxation and making liquor locally, drinking is not new phenomena to them. Over the last 15-20 years, with the increasing monetization of economy and increasing trend of high caste group to drink. Liquer selling has emerged as a new economic opportunity. Baramus make liquor locally out of millet. Mostly women are involved in brewing liquor and sometimes they are also assisted by their male counterparts. It has helped women to earn money for personal uses like buying bangles, *sindur*, cigarettes etc.

Baramus sell liquor in and around a village and the local *Bhatti* (Local restaurants where *Raksi* is sold) recently opened on the earthen road in Tandrang, where they can get cash immediately. Instead of offering freely to neighbors, they are selling, which in some elder Baramus' opinion denotes diminishing community ties.

This occupation has been threatened by the emerging *Ama Samuha* (Mother's groups) who have banned selling liquor in their respective areas. The penetration of imported beer and alcohol and the inclination of well to people towards them are also threatening this economic activity.

5.1.3.5 Timber Selling

when the formation of community forestry was spread around the area about five year ago, the villagers not involved in the groups or not from the village development committee were mode deprived of using forest products and especially timbers from these community forests. The forests of the study area consist of soft wooden trees like pines.

This situation led to the emergence of the practice of buying and selling timber illegally. Some Baramu youths along with other caste/ethnic group, are involved in this activity. They have to go to the neighboring villages during the night and return before dawn carrying timber with a walk of 2-3hours. Some of them have fallen while carrying timber in the night. These youths who earlier were involved in pottering activities are nowadays attracted into this creative activity from which they can earn up to Rs.500 per day from a single timber selling.

CHAPTER SIX

RECENT CHANGES IN THE STUDY AREA

Historically, change has been a phenomenon found in all societies. The pace and nature of change is a function of various social, economic, technological, natural environmental factors. The degree of causal impacts of these factors may vary along space and time. Hence, the pace and nature of the change of any society differs from that of others. This chapter deals with the changes in the socio-cultural, economic and natural - environmental spheres and their effects on the livelihood strategies developed by the Baramus over time.

6.1 Changes in Economic and Natural Environment

The Baramus have experienced a rather rapid change in their economic and natural environmental spheres, primarily during the last two decades, some changes, which have made significant impacts on their area, described here.

The speedy decay of the *Bani* and *Dole* systems as well as the expansion of market centers near the study area have opened up new opportunities for portering the Baramus during the first half of this period. But during the last five years, because of the construction of the *Dhule Bato*, they have gradually been replaced from this occupation. The rise and decline in partnering within this period hampered them negatively.

Agriculture, as such an integral part of their economy also experienced some changes. *Bikase mal* (Chemical fertilizer) and *Bikase Byu* (Improved seeds) were introduced that enhanced the quantity of production of food grains mainly that of maize. It has positively affected

their subsistence however, their attempts to cultivate wheat have failed and meaning that *Khet* land could not be utilized properly. The existing production, therefore, can not supply enough food grains for the Baramus throughout the year.

Another significant change is found in livestock raising. Because of the decline in the monetary value of cows, the practice of cow raising is declining. In contrary, due to the increasing economic value of goats and chicken, they are increasing in number.

Increasing wages for skilled labour such as carpentry and house construction led to the reduction of sphere of the *parma* system and confined it to only agricultural activities. This can be regarded as both the cause and indicator of declining social its and increasing importance of cash income among the Baramus.

There is two television set in two households of the study area, the power is supplied through solar power sources. Many villagers especially teenagers come to watch television in the evening. This has also familiarized them with consumer culture. Radio sets are found in almost every household. People listen to the news and every types of song. The next morning, they talk about the news in local teashops. There has been 3 telephone sets in Baramu community at Arupokhari, which provides STD and ISD telephone service. Despite its frequent disconnection, the villager are benefiting from this new communication service. Youths of both sexes were wrist watches, which in addition to telling time, also provides them with some social prestige.

Recently a few kilometers of dirt road have been under construction to like the study area with Ghyampeshal. There are 4 retail shops, that supply consumer goods to the villagers of the study area.

Chhabilal Lamichhane, the owner of the bigger retail shop opined that half of his sales, proceed come from the selling of food grains, especially rice imported from India. Which is cheaper than Nepalese rice. The Baramus buy maize and millet in and around the village directly from fellow farmers.

The credit of revitalizing greenery in the naked hills goes to the community forestry program, which was initiated in the area 10 year ago. The program has increased the numbers of biota in the areas through protection and planting of new saplings. The program has brought the important changes to the natural environment of the area. Nowadays the villagers can not go into the forests wherever they want/need to bring forest products. This is an entirely new phenomenon to them. There are only ten days in January/February, they are allowed to enter and bring a fixed quantity of field wood paying some levy to the forest user's committee. They have to buy wood from the committee and are not allowed to cut it themselves. They are allowed to cut grass on the ground whereas in cost of fodder, they have access to species other than *sal*. Traditionally, they used to follow '*Sarun barne*' as native system of forest management, which has recently been replaced by the rules of community forestry program. The Baramus used to consult the local Brahmin priest to know about the days of sarun.

Along with the biota tigers and monkeys have increased in the forest. Now, the people are facing further miseries from them. Monkeys destroy crops, especially maize. The Baramus are noticing that earlier these monkeys did not eat banana, but nowadays they have begun to eat banana too. Tigers roam in the village during night and kill the livestock. During April 2008 when I was there 5 cows and 7 goats were killed.

6.2 Changes in Socio-Cultural Situation

During the last two decades, the Baramus have experienced certain changes in their social and cultural milieu. The discussion below illustrates some of the most important changes articulated by the informants.

The conversion of the Baramus from their traditional religions practice to Christianity over the last thirteen years was seen in Cheprak. People from about Eight households have converted to Christianity. Local people collectively call them '*yeshu Pati*'. There is one church in the middle of Cheprak. Every Saturday, they gather in the church from 1 PM. to 3 P.M. and pray. I visited there one Saturday and saw thirteen people praying, including a ten year old girl and a 77 years old man, the last major of the area. Almost all present were from the major's family. The non-christian of the area gossip that it is because of economic attraction that they have become christian. These christians have given up all the traditional religious-cultural practices such as wearing *Tika* on the forehead, drinking liquor, and eating meat. Five children of a family have Christian names.

Likewise, for more than two decades another faction of the Baramus from cheprak have been practicing satsang a religion they saw is a branch of Hinduism. Many Baramus are following the practice. There is one satsang building in satdobate (of Cheprak) where the followers gather every Saturday and pray with songs for the Almighty. Here, in satsang people are members not on a households basis (Like in *Yeshu Pati*) but on an individual basis. Theoretically, the followers of satsang have also given up drinking liquor, putting *Tika* on the forehead, and eating meat but some of them still do.

The literacy rate among the Baramus is increasing whereas the droperet rate from 8-9 class is high. after the opening of a primary school, *Shree Bal Vadya Prathamik Vidyalaya* (2039 B.S) the school going number of Baramu children is increasing, although they enroll at a late age, some elder Baramus have also benefited from the adult literacy class conducted about literacy class conducted about 5-6 years age and can now read and write. Parents want to send their children to school, thinking that their life situation will improve if they are educated. But the existing social condition of sibling care, late age schooling, requirement of assistance of agricultural work, and the social prestige of *Lahure* (for which only eight grade passing is sufficient) has hindered the children to further their formal education.

Many changes regarding their food habits have occurred over the year. Earlier Baramus mostly used to eat *Dhindo* (Prepared from millet or maize) with occasional rice. Now, rice is frequently eaten along with *Dhindo*. They have also begun to eat more green vegetables than earlier. Sometimes, they also use biscuits, noodles, etc. instead of fried corn for the midday meal (*Khaja*) an entirely new phenomenon - Drinking tea at home is increasing and consequently, it has gone from a luxury to necessity. Slight change has occurred in drinking *Raksi* (Local Liquor). Earlier, they were drinking only homemade liquor but nowadays, despite the high cost, they prefer bottled wine to their relatives and guests if they can, because of the high social value, which it carries.

Their dress patterns have also changed. Earlier, men wore *Bhoto*, *Kachhad* and *patuka* and women wore *Ghalek*, *majeitro* and *patuka*. Now shirts, pants and half pants have replaced earlier male dress whereas phariya/sari, lungi, and blouses replaced female dresses. Some youths are also wearing goggles, T-shirts, jeans, hats, and modern sport shoes.

6.3 The Attitude of the Baramus Towards their Changing Circumstances

The emic perspectives of the Baramus, which have been developed in relation to their particular socio-cultural, economic and natural environment condition are supposed to depict their worldviews in general. Emphasizing the significance of a subjective definition of the situation, Thomas argue - "If men define a situation as real, they are real in their consequence" (Thomeas, 1918 quoted in michale Mann, 1994)So, the way they thing and act is very much shaped by the way they perceive their social circumstances, understanding this is helpful to know about why they are what they are.

In their circumstances of insufficiency of food grains during most months in a year, the Baramus are worried from their Shaken and transitory off - farm economic activities. The following table shows the change over time in their occupation and their wishes for the future.

Table 13

Changes in Occupations and their Wishes for the Future

Twenty Year Ago	At Present	Wishes for the future
Agriculture	Agriculture	<i>Sarkari Jagir</i> (Government Services)
<i>Bani</i>	Local wage laboring	<i>lahure</i> (Foreign military service)
Wage Laboring	Portering	Agriculture
<i>Dole</i>	Wage laboring Else where	
	Services	
	Timber service	
	Liquor Selling	
	<i>Bani</i>	

Source: Field survey April, 2008.

In the table 13, the one that comes earlier in the respective column denotes the higher degree of economic significance and wide range of practices in the Baramu community. The above table shows that despite its incapability of feeding people throughout the year, agriculture is still at the top and the decline of *Bani* to the last in hierarchy during this twenty years whereas the *Dole* system has totally been collapsed. This depicts the Ups and downs in their economic activities. dissatisfied with the trend up to present, they wish for a different future. They prefer something new and have placed agriculture at the bottom of the hierarchy.

Government services are at the top in hierarchy because of power, prestige and the security, it provides for the livelihood as a stable sources of income. Laboure also has social prestige, money and glamour, so most of the youths want to become labours.

Though their parents prefer they enter the government services, youths do not seem to be prepared to Join, which requires higher education besides other social networks. On the contrary, youths are not interested in getting a fermal education. Most of them how heard about unemployment among the educated high caste people in their area. They do not want to invest their scare resources in such a "risky game of studying" and not getting job, but prefer to become Lahures, which does not require such a huge investment in education.

The Baramus perceive that their social hierarchy as being equal as that of their fellow Gurungs and Magars. In content of access in the resources, they have some sort of 'We' feeling with those so-called untouchable who were also deprived from the days of the history.

Some young Baramus feel anger towards their forefathers who lost land because of their negligence, at being such a '*Sojho*' as the offer land to others at the cost of a feast. They blame their *sojho* ancestors but at the same time the broker Baramu *Mijar* who facilitated the transfer of land to the cheating immigrants into their area, particularly to *Bahun*, Newar, Gurung, Magar and Chhetri.

The Baramus articulate extreme dissatisfaction with the present political situation and with the leaders of the *Bahudal* (Multiparty system) who make false promises of employing and development packages during the electoral time, but do not remember the village until next election. Some young Baramus opine that when they go to Kathmandu to meet them, the same promising Leaders do not recognize those to whom they have promised a *sarkari Jagir* (Government services) They think these leaders are cheaters, liars, and as mean as those in the earlier days but more corrupt.

CHAPTER SEVEN

BITTER MEMORIES OF THE PAST: *BANI AND DOLE*

The traditional occupations were delimited by the hierarchical caste system, the discriminatory state provision against them, insufficient food grains produced from their own less fertile land. As the latter was the widely prevalent economic activity of the people of rural Nepal, including the Baramus, it had the most influential caused effect among the three. Given those circumstances, traditionally the Baramus were found mostly involved in the occupation of *Bani* and *Dole*. In both the casts, they had to contribute their physical labour instead of production of any kind of commodity. It was a patronocient relationship for which the Baramus had to contribute their labor mostly to Brahmins and Chhetris.

In Nepali society, however, it was not exceptional for any caste/ethnic group to pursue an occupation traditionally according to the caste based division of labor. Today with the legal bolition of caste - based discrimination, it is theoretically difficult to interpret traditional occupations in terms of conventional caste structure. However, no one can deny that, traditional occupations based on caste - based division of labor are still very much prevalent in all corners of the country (Chhetri, G. 1999).

This institutions of *Bani* and *Dole* seemed to have developed as a livelihood strategy for Baramu Communities in their given social circumstance and as bridging institutions between inter-village economic creations. Pursue this occupations Baramu had to move in to the neighboring village/community temporarily or permanently.

During the course of socio-cultural, economic and environmental change the persuasion of *Bani* and *Dole* systems have almost completely

decayed. Here it is noteworthy to give an overview of those social institutions, which still have several socio-cultural - economic consequences on and around the area. It is also equally important to analyze why social institutions which provided such a wide range of interrelation and interdependence not only between the caste and ethnic group involved, but also between the villages, as well as major sources of livelihood for the Baramus, have decayed furthermore it can be stressed that any academic effort to comprehend the socio-economic cultural sphere of the Baramus excluding these social institutions would be incomplete.

Separate analysis of *Bani* and *Dole* System are given below considering the differences in the nature, dimensions and significance of the systems to the community under the study.

7.1 *Bani*

The term *Bani* refers to in-kind wages paid annually by peasants to people of agricultural labour for their year long service in agriculture and agriculture related work. Similar type of in kind wages system namely, Bali is also prevalent in various parts of Nepal (for detail see Seddon et al. 1980:236-238; Regmi, M.C. 1988, Pokhrel, S.K. 2000:60-67) *Bani* is related to the indigenous system of economic transaction prevalent in the rural areas of Nepal.

The relationship under this system reflects a sort of patron - client relationship, locally termed as *Hali-sahu*. Here the Baramus who perform the job of agricultural and related work such as plowing, fuel wood cutting, grass cutting, weeding etc. are called *Hali* and the rich caste people for whom they provide services are called *sahu* (the creditors).

The Baramus are paid annual wages in - kind according to agreement made with the clients.

To provide physical labor under this system the Baramu had to move from their household/village to the place of clients' need. Often Baramus who migrated permanently to the rich caste settlements were either those who had completely lost their land or who were in debt to the money - lending high - caste households. These Baramus had to work for their own survival as well as to please the high caste people in order to intend the time of loan repayment. Those who migrated to the high caste village lived in the *Bari* land of the *sahu*, although the land still belonged to the *sahu*. For instance, Baramus presently residing in Ahale and Alketar were those whose parents /grand parents had come to served high caste *sahus* of Tandrang (The southern village of study area) were from Kallery, kharchowk (northern villages from the study area) later on, they migrated further to the marginal land of Ahale and Alketar because of the declining practice of *Bani* system, which could not fulfill their demand of food grains for the growing population.

The contractual agreement made under the *Bani* system is renewed every year, during which the quantity of grains to be paid to the *Hali* is agreed mutually, the next year *Bani*, the contractual agreement between the *sahu* and the *Hali* is made during the winter season i.e. after the completion of annual agricultural cycle, which is supposed to occur after harvesting paddy. for confirmation of the agreement the *Hali* is offered latte (sweet fried rice made of special kind of paddy called Anadi) on the evening of the Pandra push (15th day of the ninth Nepali month)

7.1.1 Thado Siyo

Working under this system the *Hali* has to do only the plowing for the whole year whenever required the food grains to be received where usually paddy and millet, and the quantity depends on the size of the land and the quantity produced from it. Generally one *pathi* of grains are given for the had ploughed on the land where one *muri* is produced. And a meal is served on the day he had ploughed. The agreed wages in -kind are paid during the harvesting season.

He usually works for the household in a nearby settlement and does not have to leave the household/village permanently. The ploughman under this system has extra time to work for other agricultural activities and wage laboring. If in the absence of the *Hali*, the household had employed another ploughman, the *Hali* has to compensate the *sahu*. He cannot work for any one during the off day and because of insufficient wages from very system, has to seek work elsewhere for the survival of his family.

In spite of the changes in socio-cultural economic system of the area, this system still survives. Some people who are landless completely or have no *khet* land are working as *Thado Siyo Hali* for food gains specially for paddy.

7.1.2 Niju

Under this *Bani system*, a *Baramu* had to work for a high caste family /household continually every day during the whole year. As a *Niju Hali* he had to carry out all work required and ordered for him to purpose, not only the agricultural work. The *Bani* is agreed and renewed every

year. In comparison to other kinds of *Bani*, this one may last for several years after the first agreement.

Usually the *Hali* working as *Niju* used to migrate permanently to the settlement where he had to work for the household, or sometimes he stayed alone in the *sahu's* household, leaving his family. If he did not have his own land, the *sahu* had to provide the land to construct a hut for this family and they were allowed to stay as long as he was working for the household. He had to work for the household during the whole year and theoretically his family could work for any other household, but in practice they went else where when the *sahu's* household did not have any work for them.

Debtors who could not repay their loan to the *sahu* (Creditors) usually had to serve his household as *Niju Hali*. while inquiring with the elder people I have found that for Rs. 500 upto Rs. 5500 of loan Baramus had served as *Niju Hali*, Some times, a *sahu* repaid a loan to the *ex-sahu* and brought (Bought) the Hale to his household, where the *Hali* had to work until he could repay the full amount. There were even some instances of Baramu working as *Niju Hali* for the prosperous Baramu households of the then time *Jimmuwal*. This system was in existence until some 25 years ago. Some times, as a livelihood strategy, landless households would also send their sons to work as *Niju Hali*, even if they did not have to pay a loan.

The *Hali* who/whose, parents had not borrowed any amount of money received six *muris* of food grains including paddy and the millet, and it was only three *muris* in cases of loan repayment. In any case the food grains were not sufficient for his family, and the *Hali* had to ask for additional food grains from his *sahu*. The additional grains were added to

the original loan. To leave the household he was serving, he had to pay back the full amount, or find another *sahu* to repay the loan and accept the *Hali* as his worker, Actually it was like a system of bonded Labor found in far western Nepal.

The *Niju Hali* also got one Bhari (Load) of straw and two pathis of Paddy during the harvesting time in addition to the *Bani*. They were allowed to cultivate maize on a terrace of the *sahu's* khet as well. Some times the small (10-15 years) sons of the *Hali* who themselves are not able to become *Hali*, served as gothalo (grazer) to graze cattle, goats, etc. while returning from the grazing, they had to bring grasses from the Jungle. For this work, they used to get food (not as good as for the family members) second - hand clothes and some nominal wages. The money is given only if this family was not repaying a loan to the *sahu*. Generally, they served as long as their father kept serving the household, or until and land was repaid.

7.1.3 Din Ganti

Under this system, a *Hali* does work for the *sahu's* household for certain number days of each month, viz. fifteen, ten, or five. He gets the wages in - kind during the harvesting time as in case of *Niju* and Thado *siyo*. The quantity of receivable food grains depends upon the number of days he has to work in each month, in proportion to the *Niju*. On working days, the *Hali* gets a meal in the morning and a manna of rice and some vegetables in the evening.

The system contains an inherent special feature which is exploitative to the *Hali*. Under this system, the days served by the *Hali* can be postponed until a season like rice plantation when there is a high demand for agricultural laborer. Therefore the *Hali* has to stay idle for

some moths, whereas in the peak season, when he can earn money going elsewhere as agricultural laborer, he has to work for the *sahu*. Working with his *sahu* he gets only the already agreed upon *Bani*, which is not sufficient to feed his family. Actually the days are counted not on a monthly basis but on annual one and the *sahu* demands service whenever there is work to do. In this way, the *Hali's* economic niche is restricted. Despite this severe weakness, this system is still prevalent because of the contingent monetary assistance provided by their client when needed such as illness in family death in family etc.

7.1.4 The Decline of *Bani*

During the long history of agricultural economy of the study area, *Bani* was one of the indigenous occupational system, which has been widely practiced. Some variations of the *Bani* Viz., Thado siyo and Din Ganti are still practiced, whereas the practice of *Niju* was not found in this area during the study. For the decay of the *Bani* system, the inherent exploitative nature of the very system is responsible, as are other socio-cultural - economic forces, although the degree of influence on change may not be the same. Today, the word *Hali* is used as an abusive term in general, which I think, clearly denotes the nature and stage of disappearance of the traditional occupational system of *Bani*.

- i. Population growth and the prevalent inheritance system among the high caste people who are the patrons of the Baramus led to the fragmentation of the land. For such fragmented small pieces of land they no longer needed to seek services, from others.
- ii. Opening up and expansion of new markets, particularly in Arughat and Ghyampeshal, provided new opportunities of portending to the Baramus.

- iii. Because of the unhindered flow food grains from the outside and especially from Indian market, Baramu did not need to depend upon the conventional way of getting food grains from the *Bani* system.
- iv. The role of the education in developing awareness among the Baramus especially among the youths, about the existing exploitation is noteworthy. Baramus became aware of social, political and economic losses and preferred to work on cash basis rather than under the *Bani* system.
- v. The gestation period for receiving wages in kind for a needy Baramus family is quite long, which in the long run compelled them to seek other means of livelihood.

7.2 Dole Practice and Its Abandonment

The term *Dole* refers both to the Baramus traditional occupation of bearing the palanquin during the marriage ceremony and to the Baramu himself who does the job of bearing palanguin. The arrival history of the Baramus in the area begins with the story of carrying a palanquin for the Royal family. Sometimes the job is referred to as *solli-doli Bokne*, which is more comprehensive than the term *dole*. *Solli-Doli Bokne* includes the bearing of palanquin as well as the *solli* (a bamboo basket) during and offer the marriage process. Bearing palanquin is the job of male and that of the *solli* is female's job.

During the marriage ceremony (especially of high caste groups) the job is pursued. traditionally, the groom is carried on a palanquin to the bride's house and the bride is carried while returning. Sometimes the grooms respectable *Kutumbas* were also carried and some well-to-do people brough palanguins at their own expense for their small sons who

were participating in the entourage. Other items which they had the opportunity to carry towards the bride's house were-*Kalash* (a metallic vessel full of water and containing the leaf of *Aanp* and *Pipal* on top) *Doko* (the bamboo basket) containing clothes and ornaments for the bride. The job of carrying palanquin was done by the males, whereas that of *kalash* by the female. She also took care of the bride while returning to the groom's house.

The *Dole* who carried the bride/groom got much more (about eight to ten times) than the usual wages, and in cash for which he did not have to wait as in the case of *Bani*. In addition, he gets about a kilo of meat from the neck (*Kandh*) of the *Janti bakhro* (the male goat brought along with entourage for the feast) *kalsyauli* (the women carrying kalash) gets the intestine of *Jantibakhro* in addition times more money than the usual wages. Therefore, the job provided them with instant cash wages and other benefits. Some old Bramus expressed that they did not feel as if they were working, rather, it was a sort of celebration with money.

Despite the regular contingent cash income from these traditional occupation, they are now in the speedy process of disappearance. Today *Dole* does not mean the job of palanquin bearing; rather, it is an abusive term with the connotation of humiliation, so Baramu do not want to disclose that traditionally they used to carry the palanquin. Now the *Dole* practice has been completely collapsed.

The factors that forced the occupation to be buried in the memories of history, have been analyzed in the following paragraphs:

- i. Nowadays it is expensive to use *Dole* for bearing the bride/groom.

- ii. Because of the changes in the marital practice of the high caste people who employ *Dole*. Earlier, the bride/groom was very small (age to 5-7) whereas nowadays late marriage is increasing and for the adults it is not required to be carried in a palanquin.
- iii. Earlier, social status of the high caste group was dependent on the numbers of people in the entourages and palanquins brought in the marriage ceremony. Nowadays it depends not upon the numbers of *Janti* and palanguin, but upon the dowry they could provide/acquire and/or the family with whom they are going to establish the relation through the marriage.
- iv. *Dole* system which was based on inequality. Gorkha Baram Association (2052 B.S.) considered it also as a perform the job anymore and made a provision of fine in case of avoidance.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

8.1 Summary

Nepal is a fertile land for research. There is no research so far has been conducted to this particular problem of Baramu community in Nepal. So, this study has tried to analyze the socio-economic status of Baramu community in Arupokhari VDC of Gorkha. To fulfill the objectives of this study, the primary sources of data, information were taken from different sources, literature were reviewed and various methods, tools were used. Data for the study were collected from the field survey. The present study was focus in identifying the socio-economic status and problem of Baramu of Arupokhari VDC. In this content, information were collected in the field with regard to socio-economic status such as education, cultural condition, food habits, festivals, Agriculture, Animal husbandry, labour division, off -farm economic activities etc. For this study total 62 household from form Baramus Community of ward no. 1 and 8 of Arupokhari VDC were surveyed. The average household size was higher than that of natural average. Out of total households 64.50 percent respondents are depending on agriculture, 19.35 percent engaged in daily waged labour and 16.15 percent were job holder. Among the 62 household, it is found that 25 households do not have khet land 54 house holds have less than 21 ropani land. maize millete and paddy are the major crops of grown in study area. Portening has become are of the major economic activities for the Baramu of the study area. The Baramu have experienced a rater rapid change in their economic and natural environmental spheres, primary during the last two decades. During the last two decades, the Baramus have experienced cetain changes in their social and cultural milieu.

8.2 Conclusions

The immense changes that have occurred in the natural, economic and socio-cultural environment of the Baramus from Arupokhari village development committee, ward No. 1 and 8 of Gorkha district and the impact of these changes on the livelihood strategies of these Baramus, was the primary objective of this study. Some explorations have also been made on the consequences of various development processes in and around the study area. The researcher has attempted to examine historically the changing livelihood strategies, of the Baramus as well as to sketch the present situation widely. Their perspectives on these changing circumstances were also explored. because of the interrelated and interdependent nature of their traditional occupations, the information derived from them was also triangulated with their counterparts (follow caste group). By the end the researcher arrived at the following conclusions.

The Baramu community were the *Kipat* holder and *Kipat* land in the area. However, the Baramu community itself was not homogenous and only some of them were enjoying the benefits of *Kipat* land, at the cost of their own Baramu brothers. Their need - based attitude to utilize the land and the scarcity of the land around the area gave passage to the arrival of Non-Baramus Discriminatory government policy restricting their entry into the government a services there by restricted the expansion of their economic sphere.

The lifestyle of this community was miserable and hard. They were living traditionally in various sector most of them were illiterate, uneducated and unskilled. Now a days, they understood value of education. So they sent their children to the school but some were

dropped their study to see cattle and for home jobs and daily wage labour for money, which supported their economic condition. Most of the Baramu are not interested to participate in political activities, they were not satisfied with local political leaders and behavior of the state up on them. They celebrated local and national festival and they used traditional and modern dress. They were adapting modern facilities from their changing cultural activities.

They had inadequate land and their agriculture production insufficient for solve the hand to mouth problem. In addition to getting food grains Baramus are also acquiring money in the form of short-term loans by mortgaging their land. Which ultimately leads to land loosing. The *Adhiya* system, however, has contributed for the distribution of resources. Through the *parma* system although it is confined only in the agricultural activities, they are managing their multiple occupation. The collapse of traditional occupations and the inability of agricultural activities has compelled the Baramus to find other income earning activities like wage laboring, portering, timber selling, liquor selling etc. But none of these occupations has been found to be a reliable sources of livelihood, because of the recent changes in their socio-economic situation, some of these off-farm economic activities are shaken and are only in transition.

Development activities in the area have not provided equal opportunities to the Baramus but have further marginalized them. Some of their livelihood sources were terminated by the development process and others are in the process of gradual decline. Development has also supported social inequality in a new form those who have access to and benefited from it and those who are further impoverished. Consequently, the gap between the rich and the poor is increasing in the area. Instead of

uplifting the situation of the local people, development and modernization have future displaced them from their traditional occupations and other sources of income.

8.3 Recommendations

This study showed that the Baramu were backward and suppressed. They were facing various kinds of socio-economic problems. To solve these problems and to uplift the community following recommendations implemented.

- A study/survey to identify the status of the Baramu people is recommended in order to assess the population, socio-economic condition, their occupation/technologies, potentials of development and empowerment their language, script, culture, arts and other information.
- Restoration of peace in Nepal is the most important pre-condition for the social, economic and political development of Nepalese people including the upliftment protection and promotion of this community.
- Nepal government has recognized the issues related to indigenous nationalities. However the implementation of the related legal provisions and the projects for their upliftment are not satisfactory. Nepal government has to create a conducive environment for the implementation of legal provisions as well as empowerment and development projects for indigenous nationalities, ensuring their active participation at all stages. The issue of participation of highly marginalized community Baramus is imperative and projects for their upliftment should be implement as a cross cutting issue for the line ministries and local bodies as well .

- Functional access and affordable education opportunities (general and technical) to the Baramu community may contribute significantly to increasing their living standards. Their occupations and technologies may be economically viable or could be viable after their promotion or modification. Nepal government has to priorities the promotion and protection of such occupations and technologies with the participation of the community itself. Such approached can helped generate employment opportunities, thus contribution to poverty alleviation.
- Programs related to the protection and promotion of their language, arts, culture, scripts, should be implemented after assessing their strengths in the present content.
- Now Nepal is federal republican country, so government should be provided federal state to improve their socio-economic condition .
- ILO convention No. 169 Ractifing and implementation of ethnic implementation by Nepal Government.
- To improve their socio-economic condition, they should be provided vocational education (formal and Informal), income generating activities, skillful training, public awareness programs, productive and self employment through both government and non-government organization.
- Various government posts should be reserved for this community and priority should be given highly in the governmental policy making and decision - making level.
- They should be provided loan to invest in productive activities and start and profession and traditional jobs.
- For the development of the socio-economic status of Baramus, short term and long term plans should be made and implemented as a various supportive programs.

8.4 Directions for Further Research

In this study the researcher has attempted to explore and analyze the impacts of socio-cultural, economic and natural environmental changes on the livelihood strategies a historically marginalized section of society, namely, the Baramu of Arupokhari VDC. The researcher has also tried to unmask the effects of long-awaited development on the changing livelihood strategies of the Baramu. The researcher examined the new transitory livelihood strategies and the recent changes in the socio-cultural milieu of the Baramu and their perspectives to these changes. As a cumulative process, the following elements could be taken into consideration, while carrying future research.

- i. Despite the attempt of the researcher the ethnohistory of the Baramu is still vague. Their origin and arrival in the area are aspects, which could be interesting for the future researcher.
- ii. Another important area could be developmental discourses. Further explorations are needed on how the seemingly homogenous communities are unequally affected by the process of economic development and environmental management.

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GLOSSARY

Aafnumanchhe : Own people who are supposed to cooperate coordinate and uplift when needed.

Adhiya : A system of sharecropping in which the landowner appropriates half of the product as rent.

Bal Kura : Baramu language, which is belived to be learnt from the womb of the mothers while the child is, still a fetus.

Bali : Annual payment in grain made to a member of a service caste.

Bandhaki : Land on mortgage.

Bari : Unirrigated land on which only drycrops such as dry rice, millet and maize can be grown.

Bhatti : Local Restairants where local liquors are sold.

Bikas : Development

Bikase Byu : Improved seeds (as a component of development)

Bikaswala : Those who provide development.

Bisa : A set of twenty pieces.

Chahar : Fourth grade of land (other respectively being Abal, Doyam, and sim) for purpose of tax assessment based on the quality of land.

Daju Bhai *Khalak* : Relatives on the male side and marriage on this side is restricted.

Dakshina : Money given after *Tika*.

Dhule Bato : Earthen road.

Dole : Palanquin bearers or the Job of bearing palanquin.

Dubo : Cynodon decylon.

Gaon : Village settlement, clusters of house.

Gotra : Parallel Clanship regulating marriage

Hali : Plawghman.

Jaisi : The inferior category of Brahmin.

Janti : The group of people on the groom's side who make up the marriage procession.

Jari : When a person marries another person's wife the culprit is called the Jar and has to pay compensatory fine to the person whose wife is eloped.

Jiuni : Property kept by parents for support in their old age and after their clemise, which belongs to the son who has taken care of them.

Khar : Gasses for thatching.

Khet : Irrigated land on which rice can be grown.

Kipat : A system of communal land ownership prevalant among the ongoloid communities in the eastern and western hill regions.

Kutumba : Relatives on the female side i.e. those people who are related by a woman after her marriage, and marriage on this side is preferred.

Lahure : (Here) A person having Job in military service other than Nepal Army.

Lami : Matchmaker.

Latte : Sweet fried rice usually prepared from the special kind of paddy called Anadi and the major dish of pandhra push (15th day at 9th Nepali month)

Maiti : A married women's parent's /brother's household /family.

Mana : A volumetric unit, 8 manas make one pathi.

Mijar :The respectable word Baramu

Mulghar : Main ancestral house from which sons divide.

Muri : A value metric unit equivalent to about 2.4 bushels, one muri consists of 20 pathis.

Nimukha : Helpless and could not express one's won grievance.

Pad : This is like thar of high caste Bahun-Chhetri which means sept and consists of group (clan) that exists within a tribe and associated through descents.

Parma : Matual labour exchange.

Pathi : A volumetric unit equivalent to 8 manas.

Pung : A wooden container where local liquor is measured out from or kept inside.

Rin : Loan for which interest has to be paid.

Ropani : A unit of land measurement comprising an area of 5476 square feet or 0.05 hectoar.

Sahu : Creditors.

Sale Roti : kind of bread shaped like a doughnut made on special ritual occasion.

Sapati : The way to co-operate by providing money up to some short period without charging any interest.

Sidur : Red Powder worn by women to signify marital status.

Theki : A wooden container used to keep milk products like curds, ghee etc.

Tika : Ritual mark on forehead.

Traditional occupations : Works under *Bani* and *Dole* system.

Upadhyaya : Among the Brahmins the highest category.

Appendix 'A'

QUESTIONNAIRE

Socio-economic Status and Changing Pattern at the Baramu of Arupokhari VDC Gorkha Household Survey.

1. Socio-Economic Status

S.N.	Relation	Socio-Economic			Educational Status			Health			Remarks	
		Sex		Age	Occupation	Illiterate	Literate		Polio	Vaccine		Other
		M	F				Drop out	Sch. going				

Cause of dropout :.....

2. Land Holding (Ropani)

Types of Land	Categories *	Won Land	Obtained as in heritage	Bought with in 20 yrs.	Bough before 20 yrs.

* Abal, Doyam, Sim, Chahar

3. Information of Livestock owned

Buffalo		Cattle		Goats		Chicken		Others	
Now	20 Yrs. Before	Now	20 Yrs. Before	Now	20 Yrs. Before	Now	20 Yrs. Before	Now	20 Yrs. Before

4. What is the status of food sufficiency ?

i. 3 months ii. 6 months iii. 9 months iv. whole year

5. Has there been any change regarding the cost of production ?
Yes No
6. If yes, has it increased or decreased ?
7. Was there been any change for you with regard to the access of forest products ?
Yes No
8. Do you have sufficient forest products ?
Yes No
9. What are the sources of income of your households ?
i. Agriculture ii. Service iii. Business
iv. Pension v. wage labor
10. What were the primary occupations ?
11. Is the income from these sources enough to meet the subsistence needs of your households ?
Yes No
12. If No, how do you manage to have the needs met ?
i. Sapati ii. Bank iii. Local money leaders iv. others
13. Have you been able to make savings from your occupation ?
Yes No
14. Are any members of your households working elsewhere ?
Yes No
15. If Yes (Circle applicable)
i. With in Nepal ii. In India iii. Other country

16. Does he/she send any remittance ?
Yes No
17. In your opinion, what Development have taken place in and around your village over the ten year ?
18. Which Development activity in particular has affected your occupation the most ?
19. Has it improved your economic condition ?
20. Do you want any other development activities in your village ?
Yes No
21. If yes, what do you think are they ?
22. What are the main crops do you grown in your field ?
23. What types of family pattern are you performing ?
i. Nuclear ii. Joint iii. Extended
24. Do you find any change in your family ?
Yes No
25. If yes, what types of change does it presented ?
26. How do you celebrate the marriage ceremony on your community ?
27. What types of marriage have on existence on your community?
28. Is the marriage ceremony of your community similar to the past ?
29. How do you perform birth ceremony ?
30. Is there any changes on birth ceremony activities ?

31. How do you perform the death rites ?
32. How many festivals do you celebrate on a year ?
33. Is there any changes on the festivals of Baramu community ?
34. Did you have your own traditional dress and ornaments ?
35. Is there any change on the dress pattern and ornaments use on the recent year ?
36. What types of food you use to eat ?
37. Is there any change on the food habits in Baramu community ?
38. Do you want to educate your children ?
39. Do you have any problem to educate your children ?
40. Is there any change in the attitude towards the female of Baramu community ?
41. Do you have feel any difficult to maintain daily life ?

Appendix 'B'

Barga

Baramu have different system of calculating time, which is called Barga Herne. The Barge are named after 12 different animals and birds. The counting begins from maghe sakrati (the first day of the month of magh) and each consequent day has different Barga. Some barga are taken as enemy of another as per the nature of the very animal and birds, e.g. cat and rat, tiger and cow, snake and garud etc. and the marriage between two every Barga is not regarded as favorable for the world be couple, following are the name of Barga.

- i. Bagh (tiger)
- ii. Birallo (cat)
- iii. Garud
- iv. Nag (Snake)
- v. Ghoda (horse)
- vi. Bheda (sheep)
- vii. Bandar (monkey)
- viii. Chara (bird)
- ix. Kukur (dog)
- x. Banel (wild pig)
- xi. Musa (rat)
- xii. Gai (cow)

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION CHECK LIST

Name of Researcher :

District:

VDC :

Ware No. :

Participate List :

S.N.	Name	Year.	Sex	Occupation	Education

1. History of Baramu
2. Caste
3. Festivals
4. Occupation
5. Festivals
6. Division of labour
7. Socio-economic characteristics
8. Off-farm economic activities
9. Fashion
10. Marriage system
11. Female status in Barmu society
12. Agriculture characteristics